

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /063 W  
-----106363 222124Z /64

O P 222000Z OCT 77

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7820  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NASSAU PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN PRIORITY  
USINT HAVANA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 6229

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, JM, CU  
SUBJECT: CASTRO VISIT A GREAT SUCCESS

1. IN ITS IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH, THE OCTOBER 16-21 VISIT OF CUBAN PRESIDENT FIDEL CASTRO APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A SPECTACULAR SUCCESS. THROUGHOUT HIS STAY, THE CUBAN LEADER PROJECTED AN IMAGE OF HIMSELF AS A MAN OF WARMTH, FEELING AND MODERATION RATHER THAN AS A FIERY REVOLUTIONARY LEADER UNLEASHING THE FORCES OF CHANGE. MEETING WITH JAMAICANS OF ALL LEVELS IN SOCIETY, CASTRO LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS CONCERNED LARGELY WITH THOSE MATTERS WHICH MOST IMMEDIATELY AFFECT ORDINARY JAMAICANS. FOR THOSE WHO HAVE ENTERTAINED SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT CASTRO (AS DISTINCT FROM THOSE WHO CATEGORICALLY CONDEMN THE CUBAN LEADER), THE VISIT DOUBTLESSLY DIMINISHED THEIR CONCERNS AND SUSPICIONS.

2. IF THE VISIT WAS A SUCCESS FOR CASTRO, IT WAS ALSO ONE FOR JAMAICAN PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL MANLEY.  
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JAMAICAN POLITICS HAVE BEEN MARKED IN RECENT YEARS BY A CONTROVERSY OVER THE CHARACTER OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE OPPOSITION JAMAICA LABOR PARTY (JLP), AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF MANLEY ON THE RIGHT -- BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE PNP -- HAVE CONTENTED THAT MANLEY'S INSISTENCE ON CLOSE TIES WITH CUBA HAS THREATENED JAMAICAN SOVEREIGNTY. WHILE CASTRO'S

REPEATED PLEDGES OF NON-INTERFERENCE WILL DIMINISH THE PERSUASIVENESS OF THESE CONTENTIONS, THE DEMEANOR OF CASTRO THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT MAY HAVE BEEN EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. HIS RESTRAINT IN ALL HIS PUBLIC MEETINGS, AND ACTIONS AS HIS WILLINGNESS TO HOLD RELATIVELY LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH A WIDE SPECTRUM OF JAMAICAN CHURCH LEADERS CAN ONLY SERVE TO LESSEN THE FEARS OF MANY JAMAICANS REGARDING CASTRO AND CUBA -- PARTICULARLY SINCE CLERICS ENJOY CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE IN JAMAICA. TO THE EXTENT THEIR FEARS OF CASTRO ARE REDUCED, THEIR VOCAL CRITICISM OF MANLEY WILL TEND TO BE MUTED.

3. THE VISIT HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY TIMELY FOR MANLEY. GIVEN THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PNP AND THE DAMAGE DONE TO HIS POPULARITY BY JAMAICA'S DEEPENING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, THE VISIT -- AND ITS SUCCESS -- WILL SERVE SEVERAL PURPOSES. INsofar AS THE PNP IS CONCERNED, MANLEY'S MUCH ENHANCED IDENTIFICATION WITH CASTRO WILL EASE SOME OF THE TENSION WHICH NOW EXISTS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS PARTY'S "RADICAL" FACTION. CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH CASTRO WILL HELP MANLEY TO REDUCE THE FEARS OF -- OR CHARGES BY -- THE RADICALS THAT HIS COMMITMENT TO SOCIALISM HAS DECLINED. IN ESSENCE, CASTRO SIGNALLED THE LEFT THAT "MANLEY REMAINS OUR MAN." THE VISIT WILL SOBER MANY AMONG THE "MODERATES" WHO MIGHT HAVE SOUGHT TO STRAY FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PNP'S PROMOTION OF SOCIALIST SOLUTIONS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT WILL FORCE ANY POSSIBLE "MODERATE" RIVALS TO RECONSIDER A CHALLENGE TO MANLEY'S LEADERSHIP; THE SOMEWHAT CONTENTIOUS AND CERTAINLY IMMODERATE SPEECH OF FOREIGN MINISTER P.J. PATTERSON AT THE

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-----106478 222125Z /73

O P 222000Z OCT 77

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7821

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AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN PRIORITY

USINT HAVANA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINGSTON 6229

MONTEGO BAY RALLY (SEE KINGSTON 6163) IS THE CLEAREST EVIDENCE OF A LEADING "MODERATE" ENDEAVORING TO INSURE THAT HIS SOCIALIST -- AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST -- CREDENTIALS ARE IN ORDER.

4. IF THE CASTRO VISIT STRENGTHENS THE PNP BY REDUCING ITS DIVICIVENESS AND GIVING ITS LEADER FRESH LUSTRE AND NEW HEART, IT DOES LITTLE FOR THE OPPOSITION JAMAICA LABOUR PARTY (JLP). THE JLP HAS SOUGHT TO USE THE CASTRO VISIT TO MOBILIZE OPINION AGAINST THE PNP, DRAWING ON THE SENTIMENTS OF THOSE JAMAICANS WHO FEAR CUBA'S COMMITMENT TO TOTALITARIANISM. HOWEVER, CASTRO'S MODERATION HAS GONE FAR TO DISARM THAT ARGUMENT. HIS MEETING WITH JAMAICAN CLERICS WAS PARTICULARLY WELL-CONCEIVED IN THIS REGARD. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE PLEDGE BY CASTRO THAT CUBA WILL NEVER INTERFERE IN JAMAICA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS (SEE KINGSTON 6222) REDUCES MATERIALLY THE PERSUASIVENESS OF THE JLP CAMPAIGN.

5. THE SUCCESS OF THE CASTRO VISIT COULD WELL HARDEN JAMAICA'S COMMITMENT TO "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" CONFIDENTIAL

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CAUSES AND THIRD WORLD POSITIONS BUT THERE IS LESS LIKELIHOOD THAT IT WILL LEAD TO ANY INTENSIFICATION OF RHETORIC. HOWEVER, MANLEY DID STAND IN INTERESTING CONTRAST TO CASTRO ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE VISIT, OFFERING LESS RESTRAINED AND MORE RADICAL RHETORIC THAN DID THE CUBAN LEADER. WE ARE LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TEMPERATE CHARACTER OF CASTRO'S REMARKS WAS LARGELY THE RESULT OF HIS RECOGNITION THAT JAMAICA MUST, FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR ASSISTANCE. MOREOVER, IT APPEARED THAT CASTRO ALSO WANTED TO USE HIS JAMAICA VISIT TO ALLAY THE FEARS OF OTHER CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, AND TO AVOID STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT UNNECESSARILY DO DAMAGE TO PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVED RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE U.S. (KINGSTON 6190). IT MAY

BE EQUALLY TRUE THAT MANLEY'S MORE VIGOROUS DENUNCIATIONS OF THE WEST AND OF THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE BEEN SPURRED IN PART BY A DESIRE TO CONVINCE CASTRO THAT THE NEED FOR WESTERN ASSISTANCE NOTWITHSTANDING, JAMAICA HAS LOST NONE OF ITS COMMITMENT TO THE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE". SEE IN PARTICULAR HIS COMMENT AT THE ORDER OF JAMAICA INVESTITURE CEREMONY (KINGSTON 6202).

6. FOR THOSE WHO WITNESSED THE CASTRO VISIT, ONE OF ITS MOST INTRIGUING ASPECTS WAS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CASTRO AND MANLEY. MANLEY IS USUALLY CONSIDERED A MAN OF CONSIDERABLE SELF-CONFIDENCE AND PRESENCE. IN THE COMPANY OF CASTRO, HOWEVER, HE SEEMED TO DISPLAY A SURPRISING MEASURE OF AWE AND EVEN ADULATION. MANLEY WAS ALMOST SELF-EFFACING DURING THE MANY PUBLIC EVENTS. IT WAS ALMOST AS IF A REVOLUTIONARY MANQUE HAD BEEN BROUGHT INTO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENCE OF A REAL REVOLUTIONARY. THERE SEEMS TO BE NO QUESTION THAT MANLEY CONSIDERS THAT THE CUBAN EXPERIENCE HOLDS BOTH VALUABLE AND APPLICABLE LESSONS FOR JAMAICA. A KEY QUESTION DOES, HOWEVER, REMAIN: CAN THE CUBAN SOCIAL MODEL--AND MUCH OF THE ECONOMIC MODEL--BE REPRODUCED IN JAMAICA WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE TOTALITARIAN MEASURES CASTRO FOUND NECESSARY, OR, WITHOUT RESORTING TO SUCH MEASURES, CAN NATIONAL MOBILIZATION BE EFFECTED?  
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